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INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE

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FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

PARIS FOR USDEL UNESCO

USCINCEUR FOR POLAD

FROM USDEL CSCE

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE MEETING: WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, JUNE 25-JULY 1

REF: BELGRADE 4282

SUMMARY: BELGRADE CSCE PREPARATORY MEETING MADE CONSIDERABLE PROCEDURAL, IF NOT SUBSTANTIVE, PROGRESS THIS WEEK, BREAKING OUT OF RIGID DEBATE ON WIDELY DIFFERING SOVIET AND WESTERN AGENDA PROPOSALS AND MOVING TO FREER-FLOWING DRAFTING SESSIONS IN WHICH ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES FOR MAIN MEETING WERE ALSO DISCUSSED. SOVIETS DROPPED THEIR PREVIOUS INSISTENCE THAT ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS NOT BE CONSIDERED UNTIL AN AGENDA WAS AGREED. THEY TABLED THEIR OWN PAPER ON ORGANIZATION, WHICH DIFFERED IN SEVERAL IMPORTANT POINTS FROM
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ALLIED CONCEPTIONS BUT WHICH SHOULD FACILITATE MORE DETAILED AND REALISTIC NEGOTIATION IN COMING DAYS. SWISS AND AUSTRIANS WERE ACTIVE IN FOREFRONT OF NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA), TABLING NON-PAPERS INTENDED TO PROVIDE FRAMEWORK FOR COMPROMISES ON AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION. THERE WERE BOTH PLUSES AND MINUSES IN WEEK'S DEVELOPMENTS FOR U.S., BUT ON BALANCE, WE THINK THAT MEETING IS MOVING, ALBEIT

VERY SLOWLY, ON CONSTRUCTIVE TACK. END SUMMARY.

1. SOVIETS PLAYED CARDS CLOSE TO VEST FOR FIRST TWO WEEKS OF PREPARATORY MEETING. THEY TABLED THEIR MAXIMUM DRAFT AGENDA, ATTEMPTED BY BILATERAL BLUSTER WITH OUR ALLIES AND NNA AS WELL AS ONCE IN PLENARY TO RAISE SPECTER OF SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES IF CERTAIN DELS (READ U.S.) DID NOT "SEE REASON," AND ADOPTED RIGID POSITION THAT MEETING COULD NOT CONSIDER IMPORTANT QUESTIONS OF HOW MAIN MEETING WOULD BE ORGANIZED UNTIL A RESTRICTIVE AGENDA THAT WOULD EMPHASIZE FUTURE AT EXPENSE OF REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION WAS AGREED. WHILE THEY HAD CERTAIN AMOUNT OF SUCESS IN RAISING ALLIED CONCERNS AND IN INDUCING NNA'S TO CONSIDER OFFERING CONCESSIONS, THEY WERE ESSENTIALLY ISOLATED. DURING PAST WEEK, HOWEVER, THEY BEGAN TO COME OFF THEIR EXTREME POSITIONS, BOTH SUBSTANTIVELY AND PROCEDURALLY. THEY PROVIDED USDEL PREVIEW OF THEIR IDEAS ON ORGANIZATION AT WORKING LEVEL LUNCH JUNE 29 WHICH WAS CONDUCTED IN CORDIAL AND CANDID ATMOSPHERE; THEY CONCEDED THAT MEETING COULD CONSIDER BOTH IN PLENARY AND IN DRAFTING GROUP ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS, WHICH ARE INEXTRICABLY LINKED TO AGENDA, BEFORE AGREEMENT WAS OBTAINED ON AGENDA; THEY ACCEPTED, IN PRINCIPLE, THAT AGENDA WOULD HAVE TO INCLUDE ITEMS ON POST-BELGRADE CSCE MEETINGS AND ON ADOPTION OF A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AT END OF FALL BELGRADE MEETING, AND
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THEY BEGAN TO PUT SOME OF THEIR CARDS FACE UP BY TABLING PAPER WITH THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL PROPOSALS JULY 1. AT SAME TIME, SWISS, WITH ACTIVE AUSTRIAN ASSISTANCE, HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN PROVIDING "NON-PAPERS" ON AGENDA AND ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK WHICH ARE LIKELY TO BECOME FOCAL POINTS FOR EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE COMPROMISES. AS A RESULT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS, MEETING APPEARS TO BE ENTERING INTO MORE ACTIVE NEGOTIATING PHASE WHERE DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS ARE IDENTIFIED AND PARAMETERS OF POSSIBLE AGREEMENT ARE BECOMING VISIBLE.

2. IT IS LIKELY THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON AGENDA WILL NOW PROCEED IN PARALLEL WITH THOSE ON ORGANIZATION BOTH IN PLENARY AND DRAFTING GROUP. THIS IS LOGICAL ARRANGEMENT, SINCE TWO QUESTIONS ARE INEXTRICABLY LINKED. ORIGINAL AGENDA BREAKDOWN IN US/UK DRAFT DECISION SHEET WAS BASED ON TACTICAL DECISION AT NATO TO ATTEMPT TO FORMULATE AGENDS IN SPARE FASHION IN ACCORDANCE WITH LANGUAGE IN FOLLOW-UP SECTION OF FINAL ACT. IT IS APPARENT, HOWEVER, THAT IS IS ONLY POSSIBLE TO

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DETERMINE WHETHER, FOR EXAMPLE, MAIN MEETING CAN DEVOTE APPROPRIATE ATTENTION TO REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION WHEN IT IS KNOWN WHAT WORKING PROCEDURES, COMMITTEES, ETC., WILL BE ADOPTED TO DEAL WITH AGENDA. WE SERVED NOTICE DURING WEEK THAT WE WOULD RESERVE OUR AGREEMENT ON EVEN NON-CONTROVERSIAL AGENDA ITEMS UNTIL THERE WAS CLEARER IDEA HOW ENTIRE AGENDA-ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES PACKAGE WAS GOING TO COME OUT.

3. FOLLOWING IS OUTLINE OF STATUS OF MAIN AREAS:

AGENDA: SOVIETS HAVE ACCEPTED THAT THERE WILL HAVE TO BE AGENDS ITEMS ON FUTURE MEETINGS AND FINAL DOCUMENT, BUT THEY CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT FORMER ITEM MUST BE FORMULATED BY MEANS OF EXACT QUOTATION FROM FINAL ACT IN ORDER NOT TO PREJUDICE THEIR TACTICAL POSITION ON MORE IMPORTANT REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION ITEM. ON FINAL DOCUMENT THEY WISH AGENDA TO SAY NO MORE THAN THAT THERE WILL BE A FINAL DOCUMENT WITHOUT QUALIFYING OR

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DESCRIBING ITS NATURE.

4. THERE WAS LITTLE MOVEMENT ON MAIN AGENDA QUESTION--THE BALANCE TO BE DRAWN BETWEEN A THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON IMPLEMENTATION AND CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS. IN AN EFFORT TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN US/UK FORMULATION WITH ITS PRIMARY EMPHASIS ON REVIEW OF HOW HELSINKI COMMITMENTS HAVE THUS FAR BEEN OBSERVED AND SOVIET FORMULATION WHICH SEEKS TO REVIEW INTO FORWARD-LOOKING CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS, SWISS HAVE COME FORWARD WITH NON-PAPER WHICH PRESENTLY CONTAINS TEN AGENDA ITEMS. MOST OF THESE ADDITIONAL ITEMS ARE NON-CONTENTIOUS MATTERS, SUCH AS "OPENING OF MEETING," WHINT WSVRUSEYDG AS A MATTER OF COURSE IN US/UK DRAFT OR THOSE SUCH AS INAUGURAL ADDRESSES BY REPS OF HOST COUNTRY AND OF UN SECRETARY-GENERAL AND PUBLIC ROUND OF OPEININ POLITICAL STATEMENTS BY EACH OF 35 PARTICIPANTS WHICH WERE INCLUDED IN ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION OF OUR PROPOSAL. THERE IS BROAD SENTIMENT TO GO ALONG WITH SWISS ON THIS, AND INDEED FIRST FIVE ITEMS WHICH WOULD COVER INITIAL OPEN PHASE OF MAIN MEETING VIRTUALLY OBTAINED CONSENSUS JUNE 29 BEFORE USDEL NOTED THAT WE COULD NOT AGREE ON ANYTHING UNTIL OTHER AGENDA AND ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS WERE CLARIFIED, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN LEVERAGE FOR OBTAINING ACCEPTABLE FORMULATION OF SUBSTANTIVE ITEMS.

5. WE DO NOT CONSIDER THAT THERE IS A SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEM WITH AGENDA OF THIS SORT. IT IS A MATTER OF OPTICS SINCE VISIBILITY OF IMPLEMENTATION ITEM WOULD BE REDUCED IF IT WERE PUT IN ABOUT EIGHTH PLACE ON TEN-POINT AGENDA. FOR THIS REASON, HOWEVER, SOVITS HAVE WELCOMED SWISS IDEA, AND WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO CUT

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IT BACK SOMEWHAT BY IDENTIFYING ITEMS WHICH MIGHT REASONABLY BE COMBINED. IN FINAL ANALYSIS, HOWEVER, WE WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO ACCEPT A NON-SUBSTANTIVE EXPANSION OF AGENDA. WE WILL NEED TO INSIST ONLY THAT ITEM WITH IMPLEMENTATION BE FIRST SUBSTANTIVE ONE TO APPEAR ON THE PART OF AGENDA WHICH COVERS PERIOD WHEN MEETING GOES INTO CLOSED SESSIONS, AND WE WILL HAVE TO CONTINUE TO WORK FOR A FORMULATION OF THAT ITEM WHICH PROVIDES A SEPARATION BETWEEN REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS.

6. THIS SEPARATION ISSUE, HOWEVER, IS SHAPING UP AS A DIFFICULT ONE. WE ARE HOLDING LINE FOR TACTICAL REASONS ON NATO FORMULATION IN US/UK PROPOSAL. SWISS, HOWEVER, HAVE ALREADY MOVED NNA COMPROMISE FORMULATION

SLIGHTLY CLOSER TO FORMULATION OF FINAL ACT BY EMPLOY-
ING DIRECT QUOTATION FROM RELEVANT PARAGRAPH OF FINAL
ACT, ALTHOUGH SEPARATION IS CLEARLY INDICATED BY MEANS
OF A SEMICOLON AND TWO TICKS. SOVIETS INDICATED DURING
WEEK THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR DROPPING ALL
PUNCTUATION WHICH DOES NOT APPEAR IN FINAL ACT, BUT
THEY HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY CAN ACCEPT A SEPARATION
WITHIN A SINGLE AGENDS ITEM ON IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW
PROPOSALS, WITHOUT THE TICKS. OUR SUPPORT ON THE
POINT IS SHAKY. SOME ALLIES, INCLUDING FRENCH AND
DUTCH, HAVE ALWAYS CONSIDERED THAT THERE WAS LOGICAL
LINK BETWEEN REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOS-
ALS, AND HAVE CONSISTENTLY PREFERRED TO TREAT THESE
ITEMS TOGETHER. MOST OTHERS ARE UNLIKELY TO REGARD

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PUNCTUATION AS CRUCIAL, PROVIDED THERE IS CLEAR REQUIRE-
MENT FOR THOROUGH EXCHANGE ON IMPLEMENTATION.

7. ORGANIZATION: TYPE OF AGENDA WHICH IS EMERGING
DEMONSTRATES IMPORTANCE TO US OF ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES
FOR MAIN MEETING. THERE IS STRONG SUPPORT AMONG
ALLIES AND NNA FOR A STRUCTURE WHICH PERMITS THOROUGH
DISCUSSION OF BOTH IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS IN

COMMITTEE AS WELL AS IN PLENARY. SOVIETS INDICATED IN THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL PAPER TABLED JULY 1 AND IN EARLIER BILATERAL LUNCHEON WITH US THAT THEY CAN ACCEPT COMMITTEES, THOUGH THEY PREFER TO CALL THEM SUBSIDIARY BODIES OR WORKING GROUPS. THEY WISH, HOWEVER, TO RESERVE WORK ON SPECIFIC NEW PROPOSALS TO ADDITIONAL AS HOC GROUPS WHICH PLENARY WILL ESTABLISH AFTER CONSIDERATION OF WHETHER THEY PROPOSALS ARE MERITORIOUS ENOUGH TO WARRANT DETAILED CONSIDERATION. EFFECT OF SOVIET PROPOSAL WOULD BE TO DE-EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE OF REVIEW
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OF IMPLEMENTATION AND TO REQUIRE VETTING OF NEW PROPOSALS IN PLENARY BEFORE THEY COULD BE NEGOTIATED IN COMMITTEES. AUSTRIANS PUT IN NON-PAPER, REplete WITH AMBIGUOUS TERMINOLOGY, IN EFFORT TO STIMULATE DISCUSSION OF COMPROMISES EVEN BEFORE SOVIET PAPER WAS TABLED. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT ALLIES CAN OBTAIN AGREEMENT THAT CLOSED PLENARY BE DEVOTED ENTIRELY TO REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AS PROPOSED IN US/UK PAPER, BUT, AS WE MADE CLEAR TO ALLIES DURING NATO DISCUSSION, WE CONSIDER IT MORE DESIRABLE TO MOVE DIRECTLY INTO COMMITTEE WORK ON IMPLEMENTATION. WE INTEND TO CONTINUE TO WORK FLEXIBLY WITH ALLIES AND NNA TO ENSURE THAT WAY IS CLEAR FOR SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION.

8. DURATION OF MEETING: DISCUSSION OF THIS IMPORTANT POINT HAS THUS FAR BEEN CONFINED TO CORRIDORS. NNA'S GENERALLY SUPPORT CONCEPT OF OPEN-ENDED MEETING, AND ROMANIANS HAVE INDICATED TO US THAT THEY BELIEVE FORMULATION OF 12-WEEK TARGET DATE REQUIRING CONSENSUS TO CLOSE CONTAINED IN US/UK DRAFT IS GOOD ONE. SOVIETS ARE TAKING TOUGH LINE, INSISTING THAT THERE MUST BE GUARANTEE THAT MEETING WILL END BY DECEMBER 31 AND THAT THEIR ONLY FLEXIBILITY IS TO AGREE TO START A LITTLE EARLIER IN FALL OR TO WORK TOWARDS MID-DECEMBER "TARGET DATE" WITH POSSIBILITY OF ONE WEEK EXTENSION TO FINALIZE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT.

9.
MEDITERRANEAN
: MALTESE CLOUD APPEARED ON HORIZON
JUNE 29 WHEN THEY SUPPORTED AN ALGERIAN NOTE CIRCULATED BY YUGOSLAVS WHICH REQUESTED THAT NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES BE GIVEN LARGER AND MORE
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PERMANENT ROLE IN CSCE. MALTESE SAID
THEY WOULD INTRODUCE PAPER, AND, AS EXPECTED, IT IS
MAXIMALIST PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF PERMANENT
COMMITTEE COMPOSED OF BOTH EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN
MEDITERRANEAN STATES WHICH WOULD WORK TO REDUCE SUPER-
POWER ARMED FORCES IN AREA. SOVIETS CONFIRMED TO US
PRIVATELY THAT THEY SHARE OUR NEGATIVE POSTION ON SUCH
A PROPOSAL
WHICH WOULD SERIOUSLY DISTORT EUROPEAN FOCUS
OF CSCE.
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